1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xolei*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*wasus ruyau*), and banana trees (*toi idaidai*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundya*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*maidot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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249 Urucú is a plant bearing a pod, the
386 interior of which yields a red paint used in body painting and the decoration of artifacts.

244 Bitter manioc was by far the most important crop, while maize and sweet potatoes ranked second and third, respectively. Most of the crops
[243] were planted in the same three-to-four-week period, but the gardener usually planted manioc before the other vegetables. For this purpose, holes were dug at six to ten foot intervals wherever space between the charred logs permitted. A short trench was first dug with a hoe, and then, from the opposite side, an adjacent trench was dug. The loose earth from the second trench was piled into the first, in which the manioc was then planted. Each pair of trenches was made with about fifty hoe strokes.

244 Shoots for planting were obtained by cutting sections from the stalks
242 of old manioc plants. About ten shoots were planted in each hole by thrusting them at an angle into the loose earth. The gardener tried to plant the stems deeply so that the developing tubers would receive maximum moisture. Slipshod gardeners, however, often thrust them in lightly and heaped earth around the stems. The shoots were inserted at slightly different angles to minimize the tangle of stems and thus facilitate the harvesting, but all shoots pointed in a general westerly direction. Quain was told that if they were planted otherwise, the wind would break the growing stalks.

243 The procedure for planting maize was somewhat simpler. The gardener brought a large container of seed corn and a jug of water to the area to be planted. He soaked some of the kernels, and then put them in a small gourd which he carried with him. Small holes, three to four inches deep, were dug with a digging stick (*mica*) or knife blade in the open spaces between the manioc holes. Into each hole three or four kernels were dropped. A small pile of the loose earth that had just been dug up remained next to the depression in which the corn was planted. This served to trap the early rains. The digging stick and knife were the only implements used in maize planting, whereas only the hoe was used to plant manioc.

244 Men planted manioc; the women were said by the men to "not know
462 how." Indicative of the importance of manioc, the word for planting refers only to manioc planting. Thus, a man who told Quain that he had finished his planting went to his garden the next day to put in sweet potatoes. Similarly, Quain was told that women do not "plant." He soon
[241] learned, however, that women could plant other crops, but, with the exception of cotton, it was always done under the supervision of the men.

The most active horticultural role of the women was harvesting. The
[493] wife of the gardener went to his plot to dig up manioc and pick vegetables, which she carried back to the village in a basketry container balanced on her head. If the gardener had no wife, the female relative in his household who prepared his food brought in his crop.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Each man planted his garden without male assistance. However, when planting vegetables other than manioc, he was often aided by his wife or wives. During the whole Trumaí planting season Quain observed only one instance of cooperative labor in manioc planting. This occurred in the garden of Uluku, a Kamayurá, who had cleared a plot in the Trumaí gardens but had not returned in time to plant it. The work was initiated by the Trumaí chief, as this was an obligation of the village to an outsider. However, the men largely ignored his call and, of those who responded, most were co-residents of the chief.

Fishing Techniques

A variety of fish were caught and eaten by the Trumaí. The exact species were not recorded by Quain, but those in Oberg's partial list are also found in other tributaries of the Amazon.[3] A small fish called *kate* by the Trumaí was caught in great quantities during Quain's visit. Fish figured importantly in the diet throughout the year, but they were not as easily caught during the rainy season when the rivers overflowed into the adjacent forest. Fish were taken by hook and line, bow and arrow, poisoning, traps, nets and weirs.

Shooting with the bow and arrow was the most important single method. The fisherman stood in the bow of his bark canoe with bow and arrow poised while his helper paddled slowly in the stern. When a fish was sighted the arrow usually found its mark with surprising accuracy. Insofar as is known, only hooks and lines obtained from the whites by trade or gift were used. Quain found a great demand for them, and he gave many to the Trumaí and other groups.

Two kinds of poison were used to drug fish in the lagoons. The more important was made from the shredded bark of the *tawasi* tree and was effective only upon the small *kate* fish. The other was made from the ripe fruit of the *fift'a* tree, the bark of which was used in the washing of the body after ceremonial scarification.[3]

Fish traps were baited and set out in the lagoon. These were basket containers, long and rounded in shape. An open-ended basket cone, through which the fish swam, was set in the mouth. Once inside, the fish could not find their way out through the small end of the cone, which was pointed towards the inside of the trap. According to one informant, the Mehinaku could make fish traps, but not the Trumaí. Quain, however, found that at least three Trumaí men made traps,

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 25–26.

[3] The exact species of these trees are not known. Oberg (1953, pp. 26–27) refers to the use of *timbó* in a general sense only. *Timbó* commonly refers to the root of a small shrub and not to the above-mentioned drugs. Von den Steinen (1897) makes no reference to fish drugs.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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often gathered together, and at times all of the women of a house would work together in *piquí* collecting. Parties of boys and men sometimes picked up the fruit, and a man often went gathering with his wife to protect her from possible enemies, especially if there had been recent threats or omens. He took his bow and arrows, and frequently did not help in carrying the fruit back to the village. The *piquí* was brought to the village in basket containers, and then made into a variety of dishes.

Guava (*waruwaru*) grows wild in the forest, ripening a short time before *piquí* does, but extending into the season of the latter. Quain believed it to be a valuable vitamin C supplement to the diet, but it was a far less important food than *piquí*. Men participated little in guava collecting, although they accompanied their wives for sociability and protection. Quain described these connubial gathering expeditions as being largely pleasant jaunts through the wood. Children often went out for the fruit, which they brought back to the village strung on straws.

The water lily from which salt was made was another important item gathered during the period of Quain's residence among the Trumaí. The water lilies were collected in the Trumaí lagoon, and the complete salt-making process was carried on there. Each Trumaí built a rack over the waters of the lagoon. The lilies were pulled up, spread out on the rack to dry, and later burned. The ashes were sifted to obtain the salt. Quain did not mention any women's salt racks, but the women prepared their own supply of salt, too. Quain saw salt-making only in the early part of September, although it is possible that it occurred prior to this time as well. However, salt was not made after the middle of September, due to the rains and the exigencies of planting.

Ants were eaten by the Trumaí, and, according to an informant, by all groups in the area. A little boy demonstrated the correct way to consume them when he joyously brought in a fat one, plucked off its abdomen and swallowed it. Quain was told that later in the season the women and children would go out and collect them in large quantities. Other insects were in heavy demand for feeding the harpy eagle and other pet birds. Crickets were considered especially good for this purpose, and the boys made great sport of shooting these insects with their miniature bows and arrows.

A few other wild foods were eaten, but these were relatively insignificant. Among them was the fruit of the *awa'o* palm. Another fruit called *lamux*, resembling the crabapple in taste and superficial appearance, had a gelatinous interior. An unnamed plant is described by Quain as resembling grass, but having a quality like algae. It was eaten only in times of a manioc shortage. *Kawu's* is a parasitic plant that looks and tastes like the date. The *atoh* is a berry that tastes like the chokecherry.

Fift'a and *tawasi*, the fish poisons, were gathered in the locale. The gathering and preparation of *tawasi* boughs was a cooperative venture.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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smaller food stock than did the Kamayurá. Quain found the Trumaí diet nourishing and tasty, and although the methods of cooking were not always appetizing from a European point of view, he notes that "the delightful rounds of foods are endless," and that there were many recipes for their preparation.

Manioc processing, from harvest to finished product, was the work of the women. The tubers were dug up when reserves of *beijú*, or manioc cake, ran low, for the supply of manioc flour on hand was always enough for several days, but no more. The first step in the process was to scrape the skin from the tubers. This was done with a clam shell, the rough edges of which had been abraded so as to give a smooth scraping surface. The manioc was then reduced to a wet pulp by rubbing it on a grater made of wood studded with sharp bones. In order to extract the prussic acid from the bitter manioc, the pulp was placed on an open-work sieve, or *tuafi*, which was set on top of a wide-mouthed Waurá pot, and water was washed through it. The mass was then wrung out and rewashed. After several washings, the manioc was squeezed into a lump and dried on a rack in the sun. The flour (*karima*), thus prepared, was used to make the flat manioc cake or was mixed in water to make a gruel. For *beijú*, the sun-dried lumps of flour were pulverized in a large wooden mortar set in the floor and moistened, sometimes with fish juice. It was then placed on a flat clay plate (*ja'meo*) and beaten with a special wooden paddle until flat, after which it was baked. Two kinds of *beijú* were made: a thin and a coarse, thick type. *Beijú* was sometimes eaten plain, but other foods were usually heaped on top.

Manioc was also regularly consumed in the form of a thick gruel prepared by boiling the flour in water. A fibrous fruit known as *iriwa* was often boiled with the manioc gruel and imparted a prune-like taste to the dish. When drinking it, the fruit was chewed, the shells and fiber spat out. The manioc gruel (*ats aek*) was kept in the house in gourds.

Fish were roasted or boiled. Roasting was done by holding the fish directly over the flame, or by wrapping it in a broad palm leaf and placing it on a babricot over the fire. A common dish was a thick stew of boiled fish which was heaped on *beijú*. Fish was also added to stews which contained vegetables in season. Men did all the roasting in the Trumaí village, although it was permissible for a woman to help. However, most foods were prepared by boiling, and the burden of cooking thus fell on the women.

The *piquí* fruit (*teinon*) was the most versatile food in the village during Quain's period of residence. The most important dish was boiled *piquí* pulp (*ke'jau*), which was placed in containers and stored in the waters of a pool in sufficient quantity to last until the end of the rainy season. *Piquí*, like most fruits, ripens and falls uniformly, making it necessary to gather the harvest all at once, and to prepare and store

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it before it rots. The Trumaí worked hard at this, and Quain heard the sounds of women boiling and stirring the *ke'jau* far into the night. Some of the *ke'jau* was placed in gourds for immediate use. It was mixed with water, making a rich yellow drink, and was frequently stirred into the manioc gruel, or *ats aek*. *Ke'jau* was considered an excellent food for canoe trips, and was carried by fishermen and travelers.

The *piquí* fruit when roasted whole "tastes like egg yolk, or, vaguely, like deviled eggs," Quain wrote. In addition to cooking the pulp of the fruit, the kernel of the *piquí* pit was used. It was sometimes eaten raw, but usually it was cooked. The kernel has a fragrant, coconut-like flavor. A pudding was made by boiling down *piquí* kernels to the consistency of paste and, to Quain, the flavor was much like that of the caramelized coconut sauce prepared in Fiji. Another preparation called *t'ak*, which resembled *beijú*, was made from a flour prepared from *piquí* kernels. Fish and various other foods were piled on top of the *t'ak* and eaten with it, or pieces of the cake were broken off and eaten plain.

Maize, beans, and squash were grown in the Trumaí gardens, but due to the season none of these was eaten during Quain's stay. While making house inventories he saw small amounts of maize and beans stored in gourds sealed with tree gum, undoubtedly to be used as seed. Two varieties of maize were eaten. The more common type was called *xotet*; the other was a red species known as *hy kapsik*.

Pineapples and bananas did not figure importantly in the diet. Although the Trumaí grew sugar cane (*kanaviya*), there is no information on its use. Sweet potatoes were roasted by the men, but were probably prepared in other ways also. A paste was made from cotton seeds by pounding them in a mortar and then boiling the mashed seeds. The paste was kept in a gourd and eaten by scooping it up with the fingers.

Quain's notes contain little on the preparation of wild foods other than *piquí* fruit. Guava were eaten raw, but there is no information on how the various kinds of palm fruits were prepared.

The abdomen of a large ant called *xokoldomat'ek* was considered a delicacy, and flying ants were popped into the mouth like peanuts. A tremendous green grasshopper with long horns (*tawarerɔ*) was roasted and eaten. A small red tick (*tekwu*) was also consumed, but a fuzzy caterpillar known as the *ma'yryr* was looked upon with revulsion. The Trumaí claimed contemptuously that only the Suyá ate them.

It would appear that the Trumaí seldom drank plain water. Instead, beverages such as the manioc or *piquí* drinks were used. A gourdful of one of these drinks was usually available in the houses, and a supply was taken on canoe trips. No intoxicating beverages were made, but Quain was told by a former captive of the Yuruna that the Yuruna brew "kills you for a day or two, and they stay up all night shouting and singing." The informant did not approve of its taste or effects.

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *karaíbe* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *idesnit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 222-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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The woof was made of cotton threads. The men's hammocks were usually woven, while those made by the women for themselves were generally an inferior twined product. Other manufactures of cotton were arm and leg bands. —

Ceramics

The knowledge of ceramic manufacture cannot be properly considered a part of Trumaí culture, despite their daily use of pottery in cooking, manioc processing, eating and storage. All pottery utensils were obtained in trade with the Arawakan Waurá, usually in return for salt. The only clay article of Trumaí manufacture was the *ja'meo*, a crude clay griddle on which the *beijú* was baked. The Trumaí did not rely completely on pottery for watertight containers, as gourds, grown in their own gardens, were extensively used.

Wood Manufactures

All woodwork was done by the men with, at the time of Quain's visit, steel tools. The most distinctive article was the zoomorphically carved wooden stool, found among all upper Xingú peoples. Quain's notes contain a sketch of one such stool which is very similar to the one depicted by von den Steinen.[5] Other wood products were canoe paddles, *beijú* paddles, manioc graters, and mortars and pestles, used by the women to pulverize the hard, dry balls of manioc flour.

Weapons

Bows and arrows were used almost to the exclusion of other weapons. The Trumaí got their bows in trade from the Kamayurá, but made the bowstrings themselves from the fiber of a tree known to them as the *patacy*. They made their own feathered arrows out of cane, at the end of which was inserted a thin wooden shaft. The points were fixed to the shaft with a tree resin (*awalitsu*) and were wrapped at the juncture with cotton thread. Monkey bone points were used for shooting fish and birds. One man who was making a bamboo point told Quain that it was used for hunting and warfare. Another was seen hammering an arrow point out of a piece of metal.

Spears were not used often, although the Trumaí made them. Quain saw a spear point being made of the shin bone of a tapir. The spear-thrower (*xopep*) was used only in the annual spear-throwing contest. It was made from the wood of a palm. Quain sketched one that had a flat handle with a finger hole and a shaft with a hook on the end, and another that lacked the hook, but had a thong on the end.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Agendas were ordinarily based on the immediate needs of the household or the desire for some variety in their diet. Food, however, was shared widely, and this probably robbed most work of any sense of urgency. Apparently, each man's plans for the day were determined in part by the season, in part by the household needs, and in part by what he felt like doing.

Some men stayed in the village all day, sleeping and working intermittently at small tasks. The women spent more time in the village than the men. Their work was done in the house or, if outside, in the shade of the house. Since male work was done largely in the morning, most of the men had ample time in the afternoon for trade, wrestling, and other diversions. The trade game was an especially popular indoor activity on rainy days.

Much less work was probably done during the rainy season, for planting would be finished, the *piquí* would be harvested, and the heavy rains would confine people to the village. However, there was much less seasonal variation for the women, as they had to continue to make *beijú*, weave, cook, and care for their households — the ordinary female chores, whatever the month.

Trumaí economic life was loosely organized. Few types of labor transcended the nuclear family, which was the basic unit of economic cooperation and interdependence. The inventory of material culture was sparse, and workmanship was not highly developed. What the Trumaí did not make, they could obtain by trade. From the standpoint of technology, the Trumaí were more backward than other tribes in the upper Xingú area, perhaps a reflection of their more recent settlement in the region.

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CHAPTER THREE

Trumaí Social Organization

Property Ownership

105 Trumaí society was relatively simple. There was no social stratification
[556] based on wealth, nor were the mechanisms of social control and
[626] cohesion highly developed. This was in accord with the individualization
[433] of productive effort and the low level of economic surplus. The political
[62] unit was a single community, the sole bearer of Trumaí culture.

All land and productive resources were considered the property of the
421 community, and the right to their exploitation resided with any indivi-
423 dual willing to expend the labor. Gardens were individual property, but only in the sense that the man who reclaimed the land from the jungle was entitled to its product. There was no concept of alienable property in land, entailing the right of disposition. The *piquí* trees were said to be owned individually, but the owner exercised exclusive rights only over the first fruits. Other wild food plants were community property
423 and their fruits belonged to the gatherer.

The fishing rights to lagoons and backwaters of the rivers belonged
[226] to the tribes in whose territory they were located. There was no indivi-
dual ownership of fishing sites.

422 There was property in foods, but as soon as they were cooked they
[262] were freely distributed. *Beijú* belonged to the women, but the manioc
out of which it was prepared was said to be the property of the man
[462] who grew it. Such distinctions were largely academic. Actually, the men grew the vegetable and the women harvested it, prepared it, and cooked it, after which it was distributed and eaten. The same situation prevailed in regard to the products of fishing, hunting, and gathering. Salt was
[263] the only exception, as it was prepared and owned by individual men
[439] and women. The difference undoubtedly lies in the fact that salt was an important trade item, while the other commodities were not.

Very little property can be said to have belonged to the family.
[285] Baskets and gourd containers were made by the men for themselves
[415] and for the women, but they were often used by both a man and his wife. Nearly all material objects outside of natural resources were owned by the person who made them or the person to whom an object was
423 given. House ownership was vague, since houses were built and occupied by more than one man, and abandoned when the village moved. The house, however, was often considered the property of the man who put

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Quain was told that the Kamayurá were "bad," because they permitted marriage with a sister's daughter.[8]

Cross-cousin marriage is correlated with sororal polygyny among the Trumaí and with the sexual privileges that a man may take with his wife's sister. No indication was found of the sororate, despite its probable acceptability. There was only one case of the levirate, and that was the marriage of the chief to his dead brother's wife. That the levirate is expected but not compulsory is apparent in the case of Yati and his brother's widow Vatsiat. She resided in Yati's house, and they performed many necessary, sexually specialized functions for each other. Although their hammocks were some distance apart, Vatsiat called him ece (husband) and became quite incensed at one of his paramours. However, Yati called her *apizi* (sibling), and apparently felt that there were no marital obligations between them. He had his love-life, which did not include her, and he showed no sign of annoyance at her escapades. It was a standing joke that every man in the village had sexual relations with Vatsiat, except where an incest taboo prohibited it.

Marriage between people of different generations, especially between older women and younger men, was frequent: but the rules governing such unions are obscure. It was specifically frowned upon for a man to marry his mother's brother's widow. However, when one young man did so, he was only mildly ridiculed and censured, and his status in the village was little affected.

Joking Relations

Cross-cousins were not the only acceptable marriage partners, but they were the only ones with whom marriage was expected and especially approved. Also, patterned and expected joking existed only between these kin. Cross-cousins of the same sex, especially males, bantered with each other, but most sexual joking occurred between men and women. Thus, Aloari enjoyed making suggestive remarks to the rather old and ugly Vatsiat and frequently accused her of improprieties with various men. On one occasion, partly for Quain's benefit, he threw her on her back and went through the motions of coitus.

Cross-cousins of the same sex confined their joking to pranks and good-natured raillery, *ami tarajau*, which Quain translates as "cross-cousin talk." Mayuva teased Yati, who had a phobia of frogs, by chasing after him with a frog hanging from a stick. Both men and women made great sport of urging Quain to throw their cross-cousins out of his house. On one occasion, Quain, experimentally, made sexual suggestions to several women who had congregated in his house. They all ran out laughing shrilly, but one came back later to be reassured that it was

[8] Cf. Oberg 1953, p. 44.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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Diagnosis and Treatment of Disease

Illness was believed to be caused primarily by witchcraft and, secondarily, by the breaking of a taboo or by contagion. Headaches, bloated stomach (*pihl*) and stomach aches were among the common symptoms of bewitchment. The tremendous fear of black magic probably added greatly to the severity of these afflictions. During Quain's stay the women appeared to complain more of sorcery as a cause of their illnesses than did the men, but this self-diagnosis was not always accepted.

Trumaí concepts regarding contagion were generally loose, and they often fused with witchcraft beliefs. Contagion was acknowledged to be a possible cause of illness, but if death followed, it would in all probability be laid to sorcery. The Trumaí knew that epidemics of pulmonary diseases were associated with the coming of white men, and they were especially worried that when the rainy season arrived Quain would give them coughs and fevers. Indeed, one night when Quain complained of illness and retired to his hammock with a headache, this eventuality was vigorously discussed.

The Trumaí called such a threat *tun*, a word that can be translated only as a malignant influence causing disease. *Tun* was said to exist around sick people or in places where there was known to be danger of contamination. Thus, when several of the people of Jakwanari's household were sick, everyone avoided the house, for it was full of *tun*. Aloari said that the waterfront, also, was full of *tun*. He preferred to bathe from a pottery vessel outside his house. Ringworm, however, was known to be caused by natural means.

The word *okei*, while referring to sorcery under certain conditions, was also a general term for medicinal preparations. Thus, *okei* of various kinds were used in different stages of the life crisis rituals and also in the treatment of various ailments. Roots were extensively used for medicinal purposes. Maibu rubbed his wife's head with the extract of a root (*ipox*) when she had a headache. Another root (*murukuyu*) supplied the basic ingredient for eye drops, and still another was prescribed for ringworm.

The Trumaí were subject to severe boils which were treated by piercing. This was a woman's specialty, and it was usually done by the wife or a close relative of the afflicted person. All other curing, both secular and supernatural, was done by men. Herbal medicines were used exclusively for such ailments as ringworm, but most cures involved both botanical and supernatural means used in conjunction.

Illness was treated by both individual curers and group ceremonies. The practice of individual shamanistic curing, known as *jau'kath*, had much in common with similar arts throughout South America. The main techniques employed were tobacco smoke and sucking. Great